1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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No. 63. Mi'ro 'rorei oobana 'l-kujit. 539*
Do-not-talk the-words which-get-themselves the-grasses.

Or: Mi'ro 'rorei anaa 'l-kujit.
Do-not-talk the-words like the-grasses.

Do not talk a great deal.

['In the multitude of words there lacketh not sin.'—Prov. x. 19.]

No. 64. Miroro e-figape anaa ol-móruo
Do-not-tread-on the-post like the-old-man

ŏbore ayok.
who-has-many boys.

Don't tread on the post, i.e. don't be proud, like the father of many sons.

[A man with a large family may lie on his back all day long with his feet up against a post, and trouble about nothing. His wife and daughters see to the food and milk the cows, whilst his sons guard the cattle and sheep.] [594]

No. 65. Misiŏyo amu inauru.
Do-not-hasten-thither for you-tire-yourself.

['More haste less speed.']

No. 66. Na-Ai! injooki ol-oip neme ol-lo-'l-chani.
O-the-God! give-me the-shade and-not the-of-the-tree.

[Originally a prayer for a child but now used for anything that is ardently desired.

When the sun is hot, a mother protects her infant's head by covering it with the 'kesen,' or garment for tying the child on to her back. No woman wears this garment unless she has a baby, hence her prayer for shade.] [854] [292]

No. 67. Namelele neme t-'ng-oshoshe nauroo
Namelele and-not from-the-milkless whom-throws-down

e-mŏŏnyi eng-aji te-'maal.
the-bird the-hut (*or* family) with-the-dewlap (*or* weight).

She is like Namelele (nickname given to a weak woman), but not because she has no milk: her child is so badly fed that it is knocked over by the weight of a bird.

[This is a term of reproach used to a woman if she does not look after and feed her children properly.]

No. 68. Nacrioriki 'rtgai.
Who-separates the-paths (*or* character, climate, *or* nature).

He who separates the paths, &c.

[A common expression for the Almighty.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XVIII

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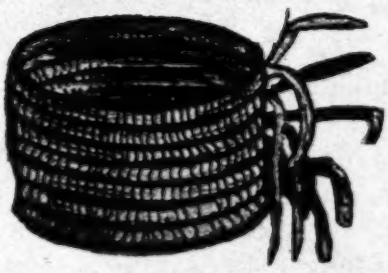

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1. Bracelets of small iron rings bound over leather bands [⅓]. These bracelets may be worn by warriors who owing to their generosity are called N-gamisini. As many as sixty are sometimes worn by one man.

2. Warrior's cap [⅓].

3. Masai sandal [⅓].

4, 5. Masai warriors' head-dresses (ostrich-feathers and lion's skin) [⅓].

[Facing P. 294]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

553 574 raari el-lughunya, epiki kutuk-aji. Nemedungori ol-kidoñgoi to-'l-chōni, epali etii metabana nemuta illo-shōni.

857 881 Ore ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno mēji ēyeñgi inna-kata ake p' elni en-gerai; kake eidimi aataanyu metaa bōtor oo metaa emurati. Memurati ol-tuñgani eitu eñgasi aayeñg ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno.

the hut, and the skull, instead of being thrown away, is placed by the door. The tail is not separated from the hide as is usually the case: it is left on until the hide is worn out.

Now the offspring bullock is not of necessity slaughtered when the child is born; it is permissible to wait until he is big and until he is about to be circumcised. No person is circumcised, however, until this bullock has been slaughtered.

881 E-murata.

Eisho 'l-Maasae:

Ore ol-móruo leitu ae-oloñg emurat en-gerai, nemeidim atumurata eitu epolos e-sita.

Ore en-dōki naji Em-bolos-sta e-sita, eisho ol-móruo p' eiyōu nemurat en-gerai enye naiteru, emuk en-aisho, neipot il-lewa le-'l-latya enye, neishori, eton emuka 'n-aishi.

Nepwei áitaki illo-oiyōu nemuratisho eng-añg ti-aulo, nelo aton openy te-inne, neirag inne, ne'yakīni en-daa, neton ing-oloñgi oñgwan.

Ore te-nenna-oloñgi elōtu ake añg aiāgursa 'n-gīabu ti-aulo.

881 392 [237] Neishopito 'n-dōkitin oo-'l-muran—ol-alem, o em-bere, o ol-kuma, o el-loñgo, o en-geranda, oe-sidai, ool-mairutye,

The circumcision.

The following is a Masai custom:

A Masai child cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called The passing of the fence.

The man who wishes to have his eldest child circumcised brews some honey-wine, and calls his neighbours together while it is being prepared.

A hut is then built for him outside the kraal, and he stays there for four days alone. He also sleeps there, and his food is taken to him.

During these four days he only approaches the kraal to look after his cattle when they are grazing outside.

He must don the clothes, ornaments, and weapons of a warrior—the sword, the spear, the club, and the shield, the cap made from the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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292 881 [237] 881 [55]

es 'mungun, o e-rap, o en-gila, o el-kipise.

stomach of a goat, the head-dress of ostrich feathers[1], and the cape of vultures' feathers, the anklets of colobus-monkey skin, the arm-clamp, the garment of calf-skin, and the piece of goat's skin fastened to the waist.

Ore p' eidipayu 'ng-olōĝi oĩgwan, nepwei aariku aĩg kulikae-móruak kituak.

When the [illegible] have elapsed, some of the [illegible] go and bring him back [illegible].

Neitashēyaki te-kutuk-aji e-'ng-aji natii 'n-epe-aishi naatumukaki.

He [illegible] stand by the door of the hut where the honey-wine, which has previously been prepared, is kept.

Nājóki el-móruo ōbo lido-ōpoloe e-aita: 'Inno, kitoo.'

One elder then says to him who is passing the fence: 'Go, become an old-man.'

Nājo lido-ōpoloe e-aita: 'Ih! malo, e-ĝikitoi!'

The latter replies: 'Ho! I shall not . . . !'

Nājókīni kat'-are: 'Inno kitoo doshi.' Nājo el-ōpoloe e-aita: 'Malo doshi.'

The order is repeated, but he still refuses.

Ore pe ājókīni kat'-oĩgwan, ore pe ebau en-e-imyet, nājo el-ōpoloe e-aita: 'Ih! ashōmo naa.'

On being told for the fifth time, he says: 'Ho! I have gone them.'

Ore pe ejiĩg aji, nalakuni nekwa-tōkitin, nōoki taa 'n-aishi, naiteri ālpotye eng-arua e-'n-gerai enye, aajo: Menye-ĝgania.

He then enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey-wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father of so-and-so.

Neirukisho: 'Oa.' Nājokīni: 'Tabarishore.'

When he replies to this name, he is told to go and make a profit.

Nājo ninye: ''N-gishu oo 'n-dare.'

He answers: 'Herds and flocks.'

Ore pe ājí nāja kat'-oĩgwan, naidipayu.

This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over.

[1] Sometimes instead of the ostrich feather head-dress one made of lion's or leopard's skin is worn, and occasionally the head-dress called el-marenguch is substituted. This head-dress is worn by the warriors when they slaughter cattle in the woods.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore ɛji 'N-gaminini ten ɔyɛñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades.

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

The girls' circumcision.

Ten eiyɔuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised.

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nɛyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ɛji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eiahir, nemeata en-netiu.

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out.

Mepika ninje 'l-ɔpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned.

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

When they recover, they are married.

E-unoto.

The feast called E-unoto or the selection of a chief[1].

Ten eiyɔu 'l-murran nɛuni, nɛpwo saiñgas diñguru Ol-sunɔni, na ol-tuñgani ɔata menye oo ñgotonye eiñguru, neata 'n-giaku, neitu se-oloñg ɛar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-ɔnyak e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-ɔnyak puai[2].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-sunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

Ore pe etum, nemiliki;

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-sunɔni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Puai (pl. puai) means the colour of a corpse or blue.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XX

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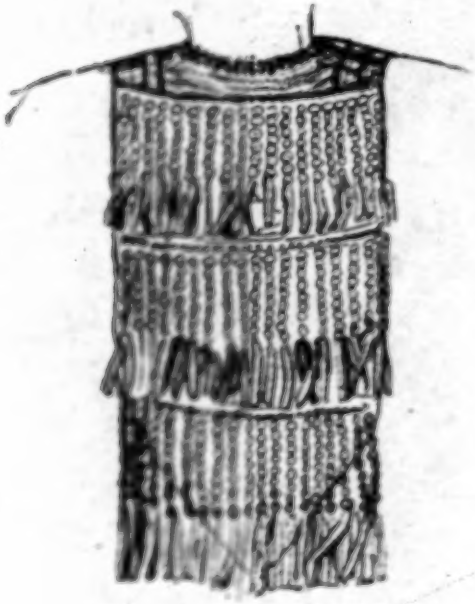

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1. Necklace of brass wire, beads, and chains worn by women [1].
2. Tribal garment worn by warriors when presenting on a raid after the circumcision of an Uasankolai chief [1].
3. Ivory armring worn by elders as a sign of wealth [1].
4. Belt worn by unmarried women, made of leather covered with beads of different colours [1].

[Facing P. 301]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore p' eaku en-aŋâ en-gima, nejókini 'l-murua, amu eitashe pákin ti-aulo: 'Eidipa.'

Nekwet il-murua pákin samurutókino idya-mótoo.

Ore el-oitera abaiki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-mótoo, neitório eng-aina, neitadol il-kulikae idya-mótoo, nejo: 'Aidipa.'

Onaa, naidipayu e-unoto.

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.'

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Neburni el-aunóni te-iznaeloŋ o el-aigwenani ôatai opa ake eton eitu emurañi.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision.

Neburni ai ninje 'l-kulikae-murua too-'n-gulye-eloŋgi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore p' eidipi aatuua, nâyuŋgiabo 'l-murua, netuni 'l-apaitin ooŋgwan ana imyat, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) *of the vow or* The (selection) *of the chief.*

Neishop 'l-karsak ooji ai 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arsak.

They wear cotton clothes[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3].

Nepik ai 'n-gik e-'nyaiti 'murio naaji 'mangtik, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoŋgi le-'l-kumbea araki 'l-isuyuk le-meuye.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-nyaiti tree[4], and called Mangtik, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or face with them.

[1] Before cotton clothe were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished.

[3] *Zizyphus mucronata*, E. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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237 [283] Naa, ten tari ol-matat, il-imyuk eitaani pe eripyo 'n-doiyo 'nanetani oo 'l-turuk.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Naa, ten tari o-airua, naa 'n-gindu eitaani, p' eisyoki 'n-gishu.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[292] Naa, ten tari o-oiai, naa 'l-lpir eitaani pe epika 'l-muran ten epwo en-jore. Nepika oli 'l-eyuk ten enaarai.

When an ostrich is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear ostrich feathers when they are circumcised.

Naa, ten tari ol-ilgaiuny, naa ol-chitai lenye eitaani p' eitaa 'l-muran en-ditki nej ol-ilgaiuny, naata 'l-pepit aloro, nepik il-inglusy ten epwo en-jore.

Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

[293] Naa, ten tari o-ongot, eitaani ol-kiloligai, p' eitaa 'l-mirunk ol-imywa.

If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

[534] Naa, ten tari ol-maaio, eitaani 'ndwarak, naashi te-'n-aiduro pe maimio ol-oruro.

Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

[311] Naa, ten tari oli o-muny, eitaani o-mitoo nagwetanyeki 'l-kumaa oolidigyeki 'l-orai oo 'l-oligok. Naitai oli 'l-kumaa loo-'l-aigwanak.

Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into circles, which are used for hunting the he-goats and bulls with. The warriors' clubs are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lalio-ehaligit entaye 'l-Maasai en-gisa.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

234 Naa, ten enye ol-dwaro 'n-gishu arukt 'n-daro, pe oloi il-Maasai, aiter, aaa tje: 'Eiuoo in-gishu alig.' Ore 'l-dwarak enioo in-gishu oo 'n-daro, ol-ilgaiuny, o ol-keri, o ol-ilgojine, o oo-daruak.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyænas, and jackals.

[facing p. 344]

[324 305] 7. Ol-muiseya enyor il-tukyanuk entopirai aron entyili; nailodigua ai 'l-murrua ton-'ngolik apuro o-aingilile; nailkye ai 'l-nia ta-'lo-shani.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clausena Anamphila*, Benth., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as tooth-brushes.

8. 'Il-dana en-'l-eilon-kenyuk nanyiki 'l-papik.

8. The roots of *Dregea rubicunda*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

324 Ol-shani tabotyeki 'l-kitgoi:

The tree used for binding shields:

[324] Ol-giriginé. Ilturoi 'l-loon lenyeno ilitos 'l-ilivata lon-'l-kitgoi.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spines of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

[325] Ilitos ai 'l-murrua il-jipata nainoyo 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their tooth-skewers of this tree.

[326] Il-kiti entaunyeki 'l-kumaa, ne 'nirrua, ne 'n-gik ne-'nemata:

The trees from which the shields and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-sirian arukí ol-tamiyoi.
2. Ol-Gi-kiak.
3. Ol-gilai.
4. Ol-sirian.
5. Nato-sian.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Albizzia* sp.
3. *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Bull.
4. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
5. *Cadaba Murkuri*, Oliv.

Kolikon-kiak entaunyeki 'n-dikitia:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-sirai o Ol-muamburai. Ninje entaunyeki 'n-gnaikia.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Tamarindus indica*, L. From these trees sticks are cut.

[327 328] 2. Ol-tiani arukí ol-orukí[1], ainye ogik il-murrua il-tipir le-'nitoi enyeo en-jore.

2. The warriors use bamboo for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

[329 330] Ilitos ai 'l-mdreak il-kitokigi ongik il-kumbeen.

The old men also use bamboo for their tobacco pouches.

[1] Probably *Arundo mauritanensis*, Kunth.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 561 tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

881 561 203 The messengers (*ol emal* – message) wear warriors' garments and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one" (WHITEHOUSE). [1]

[431] Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*oigwenon*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

881 561 It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore* is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Eupibata*) in full array [2] followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* – the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. "In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron*" (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *oigwenani*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say – *Ol piron lang ele, kiro nale.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

[1] It is not clear whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LEAKEY states that the *emal*-boys number from six to twelf, DAWSON 10, FOSBROOKE 9. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

[2] Three rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decoration, the first wears ostrich-feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.

301 800 845

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 [539] "I say, thou art no longer *ol moron* (a circumcised, a warrior), but *ol moron* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in [541] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *ol moron*; 561 [554] each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors".

[542] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *upskerr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[560] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[561] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] [542] [301] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women earrings (*ewiatya*) on him.[562]

[583] [585] A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[560] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 422.

[561] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[562] These ear-rings, *ewiatya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a female type.

8:Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Sigirari

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Whitehouse.

101 These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the south-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chyulu Hills. They belong to a large 614 section of the tribe called I'Sigirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kinongo, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kinongo living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming yet a third name "Il Oitokitok." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Engotokitok," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

561 I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with the form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai tribe is divided into age groups called *il poror or el-oji*. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcision and the left-hand circumcision. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and thus make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

[981] Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The ceremonies which commence about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is assured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become sponsors and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called *endarpori* must be held. The boys receive their instructions and immediately don short cloaks made from black calf skins and anoint their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what

[282]

If however there is to be no left-hand circumcision the *Il piron* elders arrange to hold the fire-drilling ceremony. 561

This ceremony finally binds together the *Il piron* elders and their morran charges. The warriors and the *Il piron* elders decide on the suitable site for the first warrior village. The warriors, together with their mothers, sisters and cattle move in close to the site chosen and for the time being occupy any deserted village in the vicinity. When the warriors announce that they are in readiness, the elders give orders that on the morrow all the cattle are to move to a new village. Next morning at sunrise, the *Il piron* tell the warriors to bring the heifers, four *euria*, four calves (all black). The heifers must have perfect eyes, straight tails, each must have four teats, in fact they must be perfect in every way. The warriors must find also a young bull, either a black one, or a fawn one; it must be perfect in eye, have erect horns, and its dam must still be alive.

The warriors are warned that after the ceremony, the bull must not be castrated, or sold, or slaughtered for food.

The nine cattle having been selected, eight morran are called for, and eight girls. The warriors must have unblemished eyes, must not have killed a Masai, or have committed any serious offence against tribal laws; also they must not all be right-handed. [828]

The girls, too, must be free from blemish and must not have reached the age of puberty. The warriors don a short coat of black calf skin, make a circle of white round the eyes, down each cheek meeting under the chin, and each carries a bow in his hand. The warriors and girls then drive the cattle to the centre of the chosen site and prevent them from running away. The rest of the warriors watch this proceeding until as soon as the ceremonial bull and the heifer have taken up their positions; the remainder are driven forward to the waiting group. The warriors then seize the ceremonial bull by the horns and twist its head so that the right side of its face is uppermost. A piece of hide which must have been cut from the back of an ox which when slaughtered was found to be in perfect health, is then placed on the bull's upturned face. The *Il piron* elders who performed the first ceremony were dressed in robes made from sheep skins. Now fire-sticks are then produced, placed on the bull's cheek and fire made by drilling, by the *Il piron* elders. [372] [373] [382]

The smouldering charred wood falls on the hide, pieces of frayed cedar bark are added, and the glowing ember is blown into a flame, when a fire will start with dry clean wood. The fire is then placed on the ground in the centre of the village; the place is given the name *enjoye*. *Large pieces of wood are added. One elder to three left to* look after the fire whilst the others walk in a circle round the assembled

[87] As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

[309] [312] [331] [304] [413] [342]

[81] [82] [334] [124] [309] [323] [301] [291]

The Novitiate.—The period of novitiehood varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the hall-raising ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the months go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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FIG. 1.—Lado E. Uvalu. WARRIORS WITH OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESSES.

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FIG. 2.—Lado E. Uvalu. CIRCUMCISED GIRLS.

FEATHERS WORN ON THE HEAD.

[P. 466 - B]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

and three old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities. There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-se*, "daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of teknonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" So-and-so, *i.e.*, if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ijoto Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onana, "the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nana* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *polpol*, "smooth."

Circumcision (E-murrata)

Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and the circumcision period is "open" for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circumcised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *en-polosais e-nita*, "the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at this time *e-latian*," which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blunted arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered; during this time he is known as *o-sipolini* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *i-suratia* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barnoti*, "the shaved one," *i.e.*, a junior warrior. Till his kraal company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as o-sipolini, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphaene palm, ol-murtinia, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Tavetta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Il-Kisaki

* *Ilmeyian* warriors; normally *coll-l, d-ollabi.*

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
Loita
[p. 107-B]

SHORTER NOTES

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[237]
[292]

calling on every man to love his neighbour, and the crowd then call '*Hai-yoo*' three times—a form of 'amen.' In the centre of the arena—about 70 yards across—some long poles were 'set up' in the ground. To the tops of these were tied some of the ostrich-feather headdresses which Masai mean like to wear; and on the branches of nearby trees were more of these and also a number of the conical hats made from lions' manes—not unlike guardsmens' bearskins—which are worn on ceremonial occasions by those who have killed a lion with a spear.

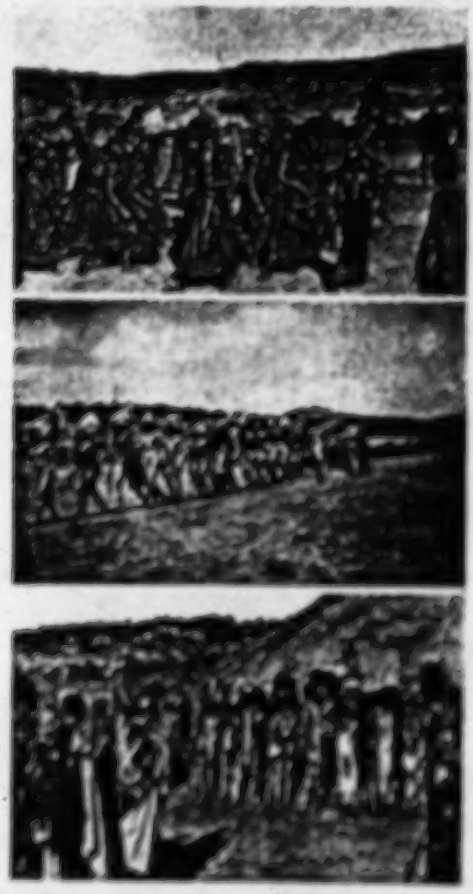

Fig 1. THE D-CIRCUIT, FIRST AND SECOND DAYS

Above, the Red Dance, girls and warriors dancing; middle, the White Dance, dancers on each side of the arena; below, the White Dance, leaving in the D-Shape. Photographs: Lord Chief Hamilton, 1959

[292]
[308]

The moran taking part in the Red Dance wear a single garment consisting of a length of cream-coloured calico knotted over the right shoulder and hanging down to the thighs. Their hair is worn shoulder-length (a feature of the young men of pastoral tribes of

/54 cont./
539 datus (1)
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[101]

1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather [392] lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

895 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naïveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A four-long fruit of the Kigelia aethiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, carried in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing seed between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/81 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this,
as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is
• [892] then designated as olg ol 'n olbege 'l aijuk. Decked out with a
[535] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, in-
[533] stead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves
with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd
into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched
throats with milk, they are /82/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old
man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: en
dabolio, en daret ijŏk, en dalo loncho, that is, roughly: may you
become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to
the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or
speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them
in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two
days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to
repeat it there. In this way an olŏ gobŏlo often lasts a month. It is
881 also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festi-
842 vals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The
former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part
as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come
in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung,
because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con-
881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the follow-
ing four to five circumcisionless years (l ari enukenyaki 'l aijuk) a
[234] similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the
cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the olŏ gobŏlo
festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but
rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festivals

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with
as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in
their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their
joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the
[300] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved.
And the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal
[298] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

/82 cont./

881 in a long leather apronreaching to the feet (ol gelé, el geléni),
[292] which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys tobe circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation,
[752] which is professionally performed by old men., especially Wandorobo,
[889] is the following /the fdowing paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the origina source/:

881 304 After the outer slit of the penis has been drawn back and the inner lamella of the foreskin nearest the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so tht the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 3 days and, after healing, looks like an ursula (1).

1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of th footnote has been translated from the Latin/: Inorder to look cut (circumcised), boys sometime smear the glans with the juice of an herb of te genus Euphorbia, called "ol Jogi." The swiling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding inward.

[412] /83/ A finger-long pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During theoperation the boy sits with legs apart on the
[952] leather apron spread outon the ground. After it, the wounded part is washed with milk, wich, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried bythe circumcised boy, who strides backwards for this, into his mothers hut and is poured on the ground there. An
[Blue] [Red] apron to wash the blood is not used. During the circumcision itself the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with abusive

/66 cont./

881 place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ol gila, al gilasi), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb

Jos. Deeg phot.

Ill. 20. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with bearing heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (ol mereuja) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-staunching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as ex ollogi (pl. ex ollogich), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

301 [136] [291]

/140 cont./

(ol gwesi, Colobus caudatus) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is called ol bidibit (ol bidibidi). At the forehead and occiput the frame is held fast by a strap (e ngushet) passing through it, while its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another

412 ← 291 →

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301 291 [136] [291]

ornament is bent W-shaped out of liana wood and hung with feathers (ol marolgumuk [Fig. 41]). Also popular among the warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the face-high, painted warrior caps, ol ugwes, with the designation of the skin added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually consisted of only one type of skin; more rarely a narrow strip of

/140 cont./

another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the back. Most common are the caps out of lion manes (ol ogere kiink or ol giarnai = lion) or the skin of the baboon (ol oldil, Papio cynocephalus), resembling it almost perfectly in appearance. Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (ol ogere girii girii = spotted), Indian leopard (Cynaelurus guttatus, ol /141/ gengie l aacho = calf-devourer), serval (Felis serval, ol geraani = biter, he only bites the goats and sucks their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (ol olbor gidoloi). A strap holds the cap fast under the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Awl (ol dede, ol dedi (Fig. 41)) and a twisted cattle tendon (ol oloni) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 42 a and b); it is made out of the honeycomb of a head of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small beads.

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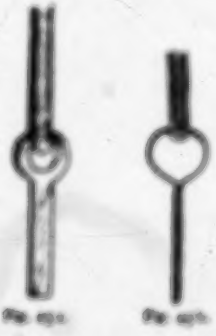

Ill. 42. Ear ornament of the men.

231/232 when they have enough blood, the thong is released and the small wound covered with mud or dung, and the animal runs off apparently none the worse for wear. The blood is drunk warm, or mixed with milk.

194 Although they are thin, the Masai appear adequately nourished, and they have great physical endurance. The Ministry of Health doctors told us that Masailand was the only part of East Africa in their experience where the children did not show signs of Kwashiorkor or the other diseases of malnutrition that are so common with Africans. Gale (1960) noted that the greatest defect in the diet of the East Africans is lack of animal protein, but this is true of the Masai only in times of extreme drought.

291 [304] Clothing, Jewelry and Utensils The traditional clothing of Masai men and women is an ochre colored cloth of cloth usually gathered over one shoulder. Some wear skins, usually of sheep. A cow hide is used for a robe (291) coat. Most Masai men wear sandals made from heavy leather c. old rubber automobile tires. Very little else is worn by either Masai men or women, except near Kisumu where the women occasionally wear more concealing clothes.

St Abbott M-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 F'H4 Chagga F'H4
Mack FL12-

CATALOGUE.*

DRESS AND ADORNMENT.

DRESS. Of tanned goat skins, rubbed with red ochre, beaded on the edges. Sections of skin are pinned together into a sort of shawl. There are no sleeves and apparently no means of fastening the garment. Worn by boys and girls.

W. Chagga tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

DRESS. Of dressed goat skins dyed with red ochre, fringed on three sides.

W. Chagga tribes; Moshono, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

FACE-GUARD. Of reddish feathers, fastened between two oval plates of leather. The rims of the plates are decorated with a line of red paint on a white ground. Worn around the border of the face in war. Loops on the front are for insertion of white ostrich plumes, generally two in number. [Fig. 5, page [33].]

Dimensions, 30 by 35 inches.
Mount tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.
The manner of wearing this ruff is shown in one of the plates in Fischer's "Expedition", Mittheil. Geog. Gesellsch. in Hamburg, 1880-'5, 8vo, o.

FACE-GUARD. Of black feathers around between oval plates of leather. Worn around the face by Chagga warriors in imitation of the Masai.

Outside dimensions, 30 by 30 inches.
W. Chagga tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

FACE-GUARD. Halo of dark plumes set into an oval structure of leather. Worn around the face by warriors in imitation of the Masai.

W. Chagga tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

FACE-GUARD. Oval ring of leather without feathers. Worn around the face in war.

Mount tribes; Njiri, East Africa.

GROTESQUE HEADDRESS. Used on ceremonials on upper of face cloth.

Mount tribes; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa.

*The numbers in this catalogue refer to the series in the Museum catalogue under the Dewey decimal system.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 E'Y4 Chagga E'Y4
Masai FL 12

CASE FOR FEATHERS. Tube of cane or bamboo with leather caps. Used by the Masai to hold the white feathers of the ostrich, two of which are placed at the top of the feather fan-rod.

Length, 19¾ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 01002

WAR-BONNET (Tarikh). Of monkey skin, with a long skirt. (See fig. 4, page [11].)

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 01040

WAR-CAP (Tarikh). Made of the skin of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*).

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 01039

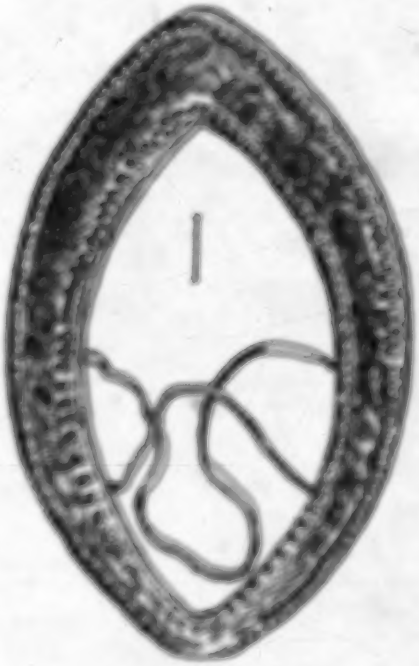

Fig. 6.
Face fan.
Masai tribe, East Africa.
(Cat. No. 60863, U. S. N. M., one-half.)

WAR-BONNET (Tarikh). A head made of the long yellow hair of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*). It has a short skirt and is beaded on the head-band. The Wa Chaga wear it in imitation of the Masai.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 01038